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No. 7
ACID TESTS OF LOYALTY OR PARTISANSHIP—WHICH?

Wisconsin Proportionately Has More Volunteers, More Men Under Arms and Now in France Than Any Other State. Wisconsin's Loyalty Never Wavers.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 5, 1918.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 10069) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I yield 45 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR].

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I desire to digress from the river and harbor bill for a few moments. There is a matter of far more importance before the country at this time than the river and harbor bill. I desire to speak on the subject of Wisconsin's position at this time before the country at large and to discuss matters of national moment that concern the whole country. My attention has been called particularly to an advertisement which I will read and may again refer to later. This advertisement was published in the Rockford Morning Star, a Democratic paper at Rockford, Ill. It could not be published in my own State without having attached to it the signature of the person authorizing it at that time. It violates the Wisconsin law, because it is unsponsored. It is an advertisement two columns in width and is addressed to Wisconsin soldier boys in the camp near Rockford, Ill., and it is as follows:

To the Wisconsin soldiers of Camp Grant:

TUESDAY, April 2.

You are entitled to vote for United States Senator from Wisconsin to succeed Senator Paul O. Hastings.

President Wilson, your Commander in Chief, desires all loyal Americans to vote for Joseph E. Davies for United States Senator.

Davies's election means joy at Washington and gloom at Berlin.

Davies's defeat means gloom at Washington and joy at Berlin.

Mr. Chairman, one of the ablest Democrats at either end of the Capitol recently said in public debate:

It will be conceded without argument that I have been, perhaps, as bitter a partisan Democrat as has sat in this Chamber for many years, * * * but when it comes to a question of loyalty to this Government, I deny that there can be drawn a line between a loyal Democrat and a loyal Republican.

I know as I look across the aisle—

He continued—

(that I am looking into the faces of men whose sons are, some of them, upon the battle line, some of them in training camps, and some of them upon the blue waves of the ocean. * * * As I look upon this side I see men whose sons are engaged in the same loyal service. As I look into the hearts of all here I know that each man would give his last drop of blood that surges through his veins if he could bring victory

to our armies and a glorious fruition to our hopes. * * * Let the election go on in Wisconsin. Let us go on with our business here. * * * I say as a Democrat that if either one of the leading candidates is returned, a loyal man will be sworn in at yonder desk.

Mr. Chairman, I have quoted the words of a distinguished Senator [Mr. REED], whose patriotism rises far above the plane of petty partisanship, and I do so for the purpose of making a brief observation on the same subject.

DISCREDITED PARTISANSHIP.

In opposition to this spirit of loyalty and patriotism the Democratic senatorial whip, Mr. Lewis, declared in the New Hampshire special election last fall that a vote for the Republican candidate for Congress was a vote for the Kaiser. His statement was repudiated by an intelligent electorate, and a Republican Member from New Hampshire was added to those on this side of the aisle, all of whom are supporting every war measure in the present world conflict. The same Democratic senatorial whip has recently presented his usual arguments to the people of Wisconsin in the senatorial campaign with like results, the election of a Republican. [Applause on Republican side.]

That partisan issue of comparative loyalty was attempted last election in Indiana, the home of Vice President MARSHALL, and a former Democratic Member of this body, Mr. Gray, sought reelection through a letter approving his candidacy written by President Wilson. Notwithstanding other active support, Mr. Gray was defeated and a Republican elected who has supported every war measure. [Applause on Republican side.]

Every measure for the prosecution of the war has been supported by practically every Republican and Democrat in the House. There has been no aisle between us in this expression of loyalty to our common Government, and we have not distinguished between upholding a Democratic or Republican President. Although we differ here on political questions, it is not a Democratic country or a Democratic war that commands our allegiance, but a common country and that country's cause which we unitedly support and will continue to support.

This much may properly be said at this time, because of partisan attempts outside of Congress to misrepresent those who are giving their boys on this side of the House and who have loyally contributed all that can be given to our Government in her hour of national crisis.

Ever since the beginning of the European war, nearly four years ago, demands for a united national spirit have been voiced by administration Members and the press. Since our own entrance into the war, legislative criticism of administration mistakes, inefficiency, or extravagance have been tabooed by Republicans and partisanship relegated to the rear. Republican Representatives have unitedly supported every war measure asked for by the President and have avoided criticisms of the party in power, which, on the other hand, has maintained close party supremacy in all matters. We will continue to uphold the President in the prosecution of the war, loyally and wholeheartedly. Our country's cause is greater than any party. [Applause.]

DURING A GREAT WAR CRISIS.

A senatorial election occurred in Wisconsin this week, and the political dogs of war let loose. Closely following claims of grave war inefficiency made to the country by the Democratic leader, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, chairman of the Senate Military Committee, who startled the country with disclosures of lack of arms, clothing, and proper sanitary conditions for our soldiers; on the same day of a senatorial investigation, disclosing \$800,000,000 in appropriations by Congress for aero-

planes had not yet resulted in a single war plane being shipped to Europe or a single cannon sent to our troops abroad; on a day when important war measures were pending in both branches of Congress; on the day of the greatest battle in all history, with our own American troops engaged, in France; on a day when the world waited in breathless suspense for tidings from that battle—on that day the Vice President of the United States and the Democratic senatorial whip were reported by the press to be far away from their post of duty, demanding of the people of Wisconsin support for the Democratic candidate for the Senate under penalty of being denounced as against their country and for the Kaiser, and as a disloyal people, while the Democratic candidate for Senator, armed with a letter from the President, with its "acid test" of the same import, was repeating bitter partisan claims of superloyalty.

A startling two-column advertisement, presumably with authority from the Democratic National Committee, appeared in a Rockford (Ill.) paper prior to the Wisconsin election:

That advertisement I have already read to the House.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Will not the gentleman again read the advertisement of which he speaks?

Mr. FREAR. I have already read it, but I will read it again. It is as follows:

Tuesday, April 2, you are entitled to vote for United States Senator from Wisconsin to succeed Senator Paul O. Hastings. President Wilson, your Commander in Chief, desires all loyal Americans to vote for Joseph E. Davies for United States Senator.

Davies's election means joy at Washington and gloom at Berlin.

Davies's defeat means gloom at Washington and joy at Berlin.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, one moment. I think the gentleman omitted to read the heading of the advertisement.

Mr. FREAR. It is headed, "To the Wisconsin Soldiers at Camp Grant." There we have several thousand Wisconsin soldiers, and I wish to refer particularly to the soldiers of Wisconsin before I have finished.

For extreme partisanship, nothing in American politics has ever equaled this infamous statement that Davies's defeat means gloom at Washington and joy at Berlin.

Who gives joy to Berlin? Who gives joy to the Kaiser? Those who make that false issue in New Hampshire and Wisconsin. [Applause on Republican side.] Those who sink all interests, State and National, through miserable appeals to prejudice in hopes of thereby securing partisan success. They, and they alone, have given to Berlin and the world a false issue. Those who printed that statement are more to be condemned than ignorant men who are misled and act on such palpable falsehoods.

Mr. Chairman, the soldiers will not be deceived, although a few may be improperly influenced. I served with the Wisconsin National Guard for 11 years in addition to 5 years' service in the Regular Army, and know the boys in service.

[Note.—The Camp Grant soldier vote for Senator was: Lenroot, 576; Davies, 403; Berger, 85.]

The boys of Wisconsin are intelligent and not easily misled, but the men who sought to deceive them by that wicked article have an account to settle with the American public. [Applause on Republican side.]

Democratic governors, Congressmen, Senators, and heads of bureaus by the score from Washington were called upon to join in this recent drive to make Wisconsin safe for partisan

Democracy. The battle has been fought before an intelligent, discriminating electorate. The partisan methods are to be deplored, but the result is a triumph for the American spirit of fair play and high ideals, which refuses to measure loyalty by lip service or party labels.

Mr. Chairman, I do not care to discuss the unprecedented action of distinguished officials in seeking to advance interests of the Democratic candidate by charges of wholesale disloyalty against my State at a time when every ounce of energy should be joined in united effort here; when Wisconsin's sons are giving their full measure of devotion in France; and when every man, be he a Democrat or Republican, is first of all a loyal American. That slander has been publicly rebuked by the electorate of Wisconsin. I do say that the "acid test" of loyalty mentioned in President Wilson's letter and Vice President Marshall's speech on the McLeMORE and other prewar measures would empty the seats of one-third of the membership of this House, Democrats and Republicans alike, notwithstanding these same members have stood for and voted for every war measure presented to Congress.

That "acid test" of votes before the declaration of war would bar Congressman MANX, the distinguished leader of the House minority, whose loyalty and patriotism is unimpeachable. Even the veteran leader and eminently patriotic ex-Speaker CANNON [applause], the grand old man who sits before me, with his four score years and lifelong record of great public service and unrivaled loyalty, would fail the President's test. Congressman WOODS, chairman of the congressional committee, who enjoys the respect and high esteem of every House Member, and Representatives LENROOT, ESCII, HAUGEN, COOPER, HAYES, MASON, DAVIS, and scores of other strong, loyal Republicans, would be disqualified by the President for public service.

DEMOCRATIC LEADERS AND THE ACID TEST.

More remarkable, the President's "acid test" on votes cast prior to the war would remove from Congress the distinguished Democratic leader of the House, Mr. KITCHIN, of North Carolina, whose able direction of war measures has been loyally supported by Members on both sides of the party aisle. Representative Fitzgerald, the Democratic wheel horse from New York, and FOSTER, KEATING, SLAYDEN, SHACKLEFORD, General SHERWOOD, hero of over 40 battles during the Civil War [applause], and many other strong Democratic Members voted against measures that the President now declares in his letter are "acid tests" of loyalty when applied to a Republican candidate for the Senate in Wisconsin. All these distinguished men and loyal Americans are included in the indictment lodged against the State of Wisconsin. Wisconsin, indeed, is in good company. If acid tests apply in Wisconsin and New Hampshire, then surely they applied to Gray, of Indiana, who voted against the "acid-test" measures and yet received the President's written approval. Does not the test apply to Democrats in Missouri, Mississippi, Texas, and North Carolina? Can the President say, "One rule for northern Republicans, but another for southern Democrats"? If so, why?

More significant of present-day partisanship, the President's acid test, if applied to Abraham Lincoln, who actively opposed the Mexican War, would have disqualified our greatest American and martyred war President from reelection to this House or from any higher office, notwithstanding his unquestioned loyalty to his Government after war was once declared.

Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Gen. McClellan, both candidates for the presidency, and many Democrats whose names are high in history and who loyally supported their Government after war was declared in 1861, would not meet the "acid test" of present-day partisanship as now applied to loyal Republicans.

Is there any difference in the loyalty of the official, however high, and that offered by the humblest mother in the land who hoped and prayed against war, but gave her all when her country called?

Even President Wilson said to us in his messages prior to the war, "I am inclined to think that Germany had a right to sink belligerent ships without warning," and five weeks before entering the war he said he was "not contemplating war or any steps that might lead to it."

Who will question the right of utterance of such sentiments prior to the declaration of war, or the patriotism of the President, or of hundreds of thousands of fathers and mothers who anxiously prayed against war and for guidance from on High for the President in his hours of trial and responsibility. What proportion of the people of this country would have passed this "acid test" before the declaration of war no man can tell, and candidates who make claims of superloyalty now, must offer their own records of service for war and greater sacrifice in its prosecution. Silence in the past on the part of those without records will not meet "acid tests," though they bear a President's indorsement, for the same reason that Congressman Gray, of Indiana, who failed in the test and election, received that same high indorsement before defeat.

SELF-APPOINTED AND SELF-APPOINTED PATRIOTS WILL BE TESTED IN THE CRUCIBLE OF FIRM AND TRIED AMERICANISM, NOT BY POLITICAL OR PARTISAN STANDARDS.

When Congress declared war, Representatives in Congress, Democrats and Republicans, unitedly gave loyal support to every measure that would help win the war, and their example has been emulated by every State and every community throughout the country. That must be the true test of loyalty.

WISCONSIN'S PROVED LOYALTY.

Wisconsin has been criticized by men high in authority. Let them bring forward the record of their own States, native or by adoption, for comparison. Evidenced by volunteer enlistments the official record shows 54 per cent, or proportionately more soldiers have volunteered from Wisconsin in this war than from any other of the 12 largest States drawn upon for our Army. Wisconsin has over 40,000 men under arms now in this war, and measured by the number of her soldiers in France, approximating 20,000, Wisconsin is second to none at the battle front.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIAR. Yes; certainly.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. I would like to say that in an article published in a newspaper just a few days ago the statement was made that for every 15 soldiers in France at this time there was 1 soldier from Wisconsin.

Mr. FOOTE. And let me say, in further tribute to the patriotism of Minnesota and Wisconsin, that, but for the troops from those States, when Meade rode up to Hancock on the slopes of Gettysburg and on that fateful day asked him for God's sake to hold those lines for five minutes, the Union would have been lost; but the troops from Minnesota and Wisconsin did rush up and they held the lines and gallantly helped roll

back the tide of treason to defeat and brilliantly aided in rescuing the Union from destruction.

Mr. BRITTEN. And I would like to say to the gentleman from Wisconsin that my father was among those troops from Wisconsin.

Mr. FREAR. My father was in a Wisconsin Cavalry regiment, with three and one-half years' service, and I had two uncles wounded in the Battle of Gettysburg, which the gentleman from Pennsylvania so eloquently described, and I have a boy now in France. [Applause.] The remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOCHT] and other gentlemen are greatly appreciated, for I was about to refer to the fact that Wisconsin furnished the greater part of the Iron Brigade that saved the day at Gettysburg and saved the Union, and a hundred thousand brave soldiers was my State's contribution to that war. In financial aid and quick support of her country's cause in this war and past wars Wisconsin's record for patriotism invites comparison with any State, North or South, none excepted.

New York, New Jersey, Indiana, Virginia, and Mississippi have given loyal support at different times in past history. Wisconsin's critics have arisen from such States, but in past wars and in this war not one of these States has been more consistently loyal or unflinching in tests of sacrifice, national love, and defense of country than my own State. History records the constant loyalty of her people and their glorious achievements. Wisconsin has never wavered in devotion to that flag.

However high the station, critics will find no State with better record for progress, legislative accomplishment, or steadfast patriotic support of our Government in peace or war.

MEN ARE NOT MISLED BY TRANSPARENT PURPOSES.

Attempts have failed to frighten men into the ranks of the Democratic Party either in New Hampshire, Indiana, Wisconsin, or any other State by raising a partisan cry, more to be condemned than the bloody shirt of old, and my distinguished colleague, Mr. LEXROOT, one of the ablest Members of this House, whose record for loyalty is unimpeachable, has been vindicated by the people of the great State of Wisconsin.

By a vote of over 150,000 he has been selected by those who know him best for the highest honor in the gift of the State—to represent a people whose intelligence, discriminating judgment, and patriotism will meet every test of loyalty and service in the future as in the past, to represent Wisconsin, the State that is and always has been loyal to this Government. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Chairman, I have here a telegram from the adjutant general of the State of Wisconsin, to whom I applied for information respecting the Wisconsin troops to-day under arms. That telegram is as follows:

MADISON, WIS., March 31, 1918.

HON. JAMES A. FREAR, M. C.,
House of Representatives:

To date Wisconsin has put into military service under draft act 14,690 men, the excess of 1,814 over draft quota requirement being result of voluntary induction. Credit for voluntary enlistment Wisconsin National Guard previous to August 5 not fully settled, but War Department offers total credit of 19,217 men.

War Department has also given credit for Regular Army enlistments, period of April 1 to June 30, inclusive, 1917, 1,586 men. Total known credit, 35,493. The foregoing takes no account of enlistments, Regular Army, except during those months named, National Guard since August 5 last, nor of any voluntary enlistment, engineers, forestry, or other special organizations, nor in United States Navy, since no official data as to these are available in this office, but indications are that total of these, including Navy, exceeds 7,500. It is known that the entire Guard except a few casualties is with the Rainbow and Thirty-second

Division now somewhere in Europe. With Wisconsin men in other units, it may safely be stated that there are approximately 20,000 Wisconsin soldiers on or near the battle lines.

ORLANDO HOLWAY, *Adjutant General*.

No State in the country in proportion to its population can offer such a splendid record. I state this on all the facts that have come to my hands.

When the *Tuscania* was sunk not long since there were 89 men from my district alone on that boat. Wisconsin had more troops on the *Tuscania* than any other State. The first soldier boys killed in this war and in the Spanish-American War were from Wisconsin. Our boys are in France to-day, many of them with the State guard of which I was a member for many years, and among them is the company I organized over 25 years ago. They are fighting for this war with boys of parents on the Democratic side of the aisle.

WISCONSIN'S SPLENDID RECORD FOR LAW AND ORDER.

I sent to the Attorney General of the United States for a statement regarding Wisconsin and the record of offenses in a State possessing nearly 3,000,000 people. You have understood, I suppose, that there have been mobs and lawlessness there like in other States recently, burnings, explosions, mob-rule strikes and riots. The Attorney General's office, Washington, D. C., gives the following list of offenses in Wisconsin in both the eastern and the western districts. Remember this State has over 2,500,000 people within its borders, and practically 42 per cent of our boys who are at the front to-day, according to statements I will submit, are soldiers of German extraction. Here are the number of suits: Conspiracy in connection with the draft in Wisconsin, how many? One. Explosives act; how many suits were brought by the Government under that act in the State of Wisconsin? One. Trading-with-the-enemy act, how many cases have been brought—remember this is the official statement from headquarters? None.

The national-defense act, how many cases of violation of that act? None. The espionage act, how many cases under that act that covers practically every offense that can be suggested? Seven; all are pending; not one has been tried. No civil cases were brought by the Federal Government in the State. Selling liquor to soldiers, 37. That is the record. There have been no riots, no strikes, no mobs, or attempts to blow up or destroy either Government or private property; not one in the entire State of Wisconsin. Wisconsin is a lawabiding, loyal State. Gov. Philipp, of my own State, wrote me a personal letter recently, from which I read a brief extract. He says:

I am heartily tired of seeing our people abused every day by an element of the press and a class of men who seriously regard themselves as patriots, but who, as a matter of fact, do not now, nor will they in the future, render the State or the Nation any service that is worth while. I propose to make a fight against the men and the newspapers that engage in that sort of falsehood and at least show them up, if I can not do any more.

Mr. Chairman, that is about all we can do. Falsehoods and misrepresentation can not be reached by us under the espionage act. Everyone can take his sling at the people of a great State.

I have a brief statement received from one of my good Democratic friends the other day in New York about the New York City election, where over 150,000 plurality was given Mr. Hyland over Mitchel, who insisted on running as a loyalist or royalist candidate, better than his fellow citizens, as though we are not all loyal. The man who beat him, Hyland, had for his father a Union soldier, as was mine. [Applause.] I understand Mitchel's was not. Every newspaper in New York City with one

exception—I have a list here—was in favor of Mr. Mitchel, who ran on that platform. A vote against Mitchel was to be a message to the Kaiser that New York was disloyal; that was the miserable twaddle indulged in by reputable papers. Two million dollars was contributed to Mitchel's campaign. Were the people of New York disloyal? Only those who made the false issue; only those who stuffed the ballot boxes for Mitchel, of whom 36 officials were convicted out of 72 indicted.

The people of New York were loyal, although they defeated Mitchel over 2 to 1. They are as loyal as the people of New Jersey, Wisconsin, Tennessee, Louisiana, or any other State. They are loyal, and you can not make me believe otherwise. [Applause.] Their boys are going to the front to-day just as willingly and gladly as the boys of fathers who plume themselves on superpatriotism, and their fathers are back here in the factories, mills, offices, and workshops doing what little they can to help win the war. I will insert an exhibit relating to Wisconsin and then speak briefly on the river and harbor bill, which is the order of business. [Applause.]

WISCONSIN IS FIRST IN LOYAL SERVICE.

LOYALTY RESOLUTION BY REPUBLICANS OF WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE.

The following resolution, adopted by the Republicans of the Wisconsin Legislature at the last legislative session, gives a full and complete answer to charges of disloyalty registered by the President and Vice President against the citizenship of Wisconsin. The last paragraph is commended to the attention of those who engage in factional loyalty:

The people of the State of Wisconsin, represented in senate and assembly, hereby again renew their allegiance to the Republic, and pledge their loyalty and undivided support to the National Government in its prosecution of the present war to a successful end, and in this moment of struggle, which threatens the very existence of the Nation, will never shrink in their duty as loyal citizens of their beloved country.

The State of Wisconsin stands second to none in meeting the demands made upon it by the Federal Government for our national defense.

Wisconsin took the initiative in providing for the dependents of its soldiers, and has made the most liberal provision for them of any State in the Union.

Wisconsin placed its entire election machinery at the disposal of the United States in the first registration for selective service.

Wisconsin was the first State in the Union to file a complete return of its registration under the selective law with the Federal Government at Washington.

In Wisconsin less than 2 per cent of the men called under the selective-service law failed to respond to the call, while in the United States as a whole 8.2 per cent of those called failed to respond.

Wisconsin stands at the head of the list of her neighboring States in the percentage of volunteer enlistments, which numbered over 17,000, 45 per cent of which are of Teutonic blood. The percentage in Illinois was 34.8; Indiana, 41.6; Iowa, 50; Michigan, 31.1; Minnesota, 34.1; Kentucky, 25.8, while in Wisconsin our percentage was 54.5.

Wisconsin's troops when they left Camp Douglas were fully equipped, not by the Federal Government, but by the State.

Wisconsin's citizens have contributed over \$125,000,000 to Liberty loans, Red Cross, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, and other war activities. Our subscription to the first Liberty loan was \$36,236,759; our subscription to the second Liberty loan was \$87,056,900. In the seventh Federal Reserve district the subscription of this State was 155 per cent of all the States in this district. Illinois stood second, with a percentage of 152.8; Michigan third, with a percentage of 142.5; Indiana fourth, with a percentage of 122, and Iowa fifth, with a percentage of 111.4.

Wisconsin is proud of the foregoing record, and submits the same to the fair and impartial judgment of all loyal citizens of the Nation and pledges itself to even greater accomplishments in the future.

The people of the State of Wisconsin have and always will stand squarely behind the National Government in all things which are essential to bring the present war to a successful end, and we condemn as unpatriotic all activities which seek to breed the spirit of disloyalty among the people of our State.

EXTRAVAGANCE, PROFITEERING, AND TAXATION.

THE 1918 WATERWAY BILL IS REDUCED OVER \$20,000,000, BUT CONTAINS MANY WASTEFUL ITEMS.

Mr. Chairman, I will now address myself to the pending river and harbor bill before us, which carries \$19,227,900, or less than one-half the amount generally appropriated. At a time when war expenditures demand every dollar that can be spared that fact makes the bill an improvement over its predecessors.

The Army engineers have recommended some appropriations that seem to me inexcusable. I have mentioned them in my report, and I will speak briefly about them here, and in addition point out what are inexcusable and wasteful expenditures by new bureaus organized apparently for self-glorification, judging from newspaper accounts of their proposed labors, written by paid publicity agents.

The committee has reported only items urged by Army engineers at this time. No new projects, excepting two so-called Pacific coast war items, are included. As in the past, the minority report points out what seems inexcusable extravagance at this time, reaching many millions of dollars in the aggregate, as will be more fully set forth, while the right to criticize or oppose such items was reserved. It is realized, however, that many real waterways need improvement, and several large harbor projects are needed for war purposes, so the bill is not opposed as a whole.

Let me offer comparisons found on page 3 of the minority report, which speak for themselves and are indicative of others contained in the 1918 bill. They deserve the study of every Member, and are taken from the 120 river and harbor items that reach \$19,227,900, as stated:

Amazing comparisons of water-borne commerce and cost.
[From United States Engineers Reports, 1917.]

	Tons.	Value	Average miles hauled.
Harbors:			
Superior-Duluth.....	52,177,330	\$387,219,625	850
Ashland.....	19,076,703	29,489,599	800
Milwaukee.....	7,925,488	267,155,651	300
Total.....	79,179,521	684,264,875	800
Three rivers:			
Ohio.....	4,000,000	38,773,721	28
Mississippi.....	500,000	Indefinite.	14
Missouri.....	24,000	6,335,313	200
Total.....	4,524,000		28

Appropriations.

	Total.	1918 balances.	Appropriation, this bill.
Three harbors:			
Superior-Duluth.....	\$8,116,028	\$447,002
Ashland.....	644,300	20,876	\$6,000
Milwaukee.....	2,469,475	51,387	12,500
Total.....	11,229,803	519,265	18,500
Three rivers:			
Ohio.....	59,016,469	7,551,164	5,000,000
Mississippi.....	170,000,000	4,500,000	2,412,000
Missouri.....	22,594,594	2,883,162	500,000
Total.....	251,611,063	14,934,326	7,912,000

Three harbors in Wisconsin handled 70,000,000 tons of commerce in 1916 (the last report), valued at about \$700,000,000, and hauled on an average about 800 miles. Total appropriations for these harbors in past years reached \$11,221,003; balances for 1918 were \$519,265; and this bill carries \$18,500 for 1919. Compared with this, three rivers—the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri—floated less than 5,000,000 tons of actual commerce last year, an average distance of only 28 miles, 90 per cent of which commerce was coal, valued at \$2.40 per ton. Total appropriations for the three rivers in past years reached \$251,611,060; balances for 1918 were \$14,433,326; and this bill carries \$7,712,000 more for 1919.

In other words, in 1916 three harbors in one State handled fourteen times as much commerce as our three greatest rivers and carried it twenty-eight times as far, or a ton-mileage of about 400 to 1 in favor of the harbors. On the other hand, the three rivers have cost the Government twenty-two times as much as the harbors, and the river balances on hand are twenty-eight times as great as for the harbors, while this bill carries appropriations for the three rivers four hundred times larger than that carried for the harbors.

The ton-mileage of the three harbors is four hundred times larger than for the rivers, and this bill carries four hundred times more money for the rivers than for the harbors, as stated, and the total appropriations for the rivers are twenty-two times as great as for the three harbors. Can the facts be made plainer?

NOT ONE PROPER TERMINAL ON THE OHIO.

From the minority report it further appears not one proper river terminal exists on the Ohio; only one on the Missouri and three or four on the Mississippi, which are more ornamental than useful. Similar comparisons can be made on other harbors and rivers showing how wasteful and prodigal we have been with the people's money. Hog Island scandals are not the only scandals that need to be probed.

Every river contractor, every private land reclamationist, every private water-power interest, and every other beneficiary is on the job during these war times, as I propose to show, while every farmer and laborer in the fields, shops, mines, and offices is shaking down the old stocking in order to help win the war.

In the bill before us Government engineers have over \$14,000,000 on hand for three rivers with a comparatively small commerce, and yet recommend \$7,712,000 more for the same three rivers. In order to get appropriations for New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, San Francisco, and other harbors that are handling commerce for the war, we must give nearly \$8,000,000 in this bill, or 40 per cent of the whole bill, for three rivers that have been improved for 40 years or more with a decreasing commerce, that have a total navigable length of over 4,000 miles, with only 28 miles average haul.

War grips the world by the throat, and we are calling on every capitalist, every banker, every farmer, and every laborer to do his bit toward winning the war, and any man who is able to contribute and fails to do so is a slacker. All are patriotically doing their part in this great national crisis, and those who divert the money collected for war purposes, in order to prosecute questionable enterprises unrelated to the war, will be called to account by an outraged people. I have no personal quarrel with the man who disagrees on the subject of Government expenditures, but any man who at this juncture fails to disclose public extravagance of which he is cognizant fails to do his duty.

Waterway improvements for actual commerce are necessary in peace as well as war and can not be neglected now or at any other time without hampering legitimate war operations. This applies to waterways that carry actual commerce and includes maintenance of all channels on the rivers used for commerce. It does not include extravagant canalization or dam operations, or land reclamation schemes that have no immediate or early use or possibly any future use, and every dollar so wasted now is indefensible.

THE MISSOURI AND MISSISSIPPI RIVER EXTRATAGANCES.

I will not discuss in detail the Mississippi or Missouri Rivers, but \$6,883,000 was the balance on hand for these two rivers for 1918, or twelve times the balance reported for the three Wisconsin harbors previously compared, while in 1916 these harbors handled two hundred times as much commerce as the two rivers, and hauled it on an average fifty times as far.

In this bill the Mississippi and Missouri receive \$2,912,000, or one hundred and fifty times as much as the three harbors that handled two hundred times as much commerce.

The cost to the Government, I have demonstrated, is \$60 a ton for Missouri River commerce, which includes floating cordwood valued at \$3 per cord, or about \$1.50 per ton.

It would pay the Government twenty times over to pay all railway freight bills for handling the river commerce, and yet this bill carries a half million dollars more for the Missouri 500,000-acre private land reclamation project that is back of the improvement.

GOVERNMENT PAYS FOR PRIVATE LAND RECLAMATION.

In the minority report it is disclosed that out of \$1,699,000 spent by Government engineers in Missouri last year, 85 per cent was used for private bank protection and 5 per cent for "experimental dredging." That is the purpose for which tax payments are levied during these war times and given to the Missouri River, not for channel work to accommodate the insignificant commerce, but for private land revetment at Government expense. The official report is undisputed.

We are going to test the navigability of the Mississippi River. Eight years ago we gave \$500,000 to the Army engineers with which to make tests of experimental boats. We have never received any intelligible report from the engineers since that day as to what has been accomplished on this deserted river, but many millions of dollars have followed other millions every year, and our river advisers have been content to squander money for useless dams and other extravagances that are monuments to their skill in wasting money.

About \$120,000,000 has been appropriated for the Mississippi River below the mouth of the Ohio. It is the finest river channel in the world—it has been for years—from St. Louis to New Orleans, but it is a deserted waterway without a single boat line running between the two cities. Only a little local river traffic now remains, and the loss is estimated at 95 per cent compared with the traffic of a half century ago before river improvements were begun.

Fifty million dollars more has been appropriated by Congress for that part of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio, or \$170,000,000 thus far for the greatest inland waterway in the world that is deserted commercially from St. Paul to New Orleans, excepting for an insignificant local traffic carried by a few shaky relics of bygone river glories.

A St. Louis paper takes umbrage because a contract proposed by the Government with Edward F. Goltra, Democratic national committeeman from Missouri, is discussed in the minority

report. Mr. Goltra personally appeared before the Rivers and Harbors Committee and explained his proposed contract. The Government is to build for him a couple dozen or more boats at an estimated cost of \$3,360,000—it may cost much more—and turn the boats over to him for his private use on the river at a nominal rental. The boats can not be completed before 1919, possibly not for years, and are not directly or indirectly for war purposes. Mr. Goltra testified before our committee—page 48 of the hearings—that the boats will cost double ordinary prices through being built at this time of high prices, but if he can make a profit by them, he expects to buy them from the Government at half price. If not profitable, they may be scrapped.

HELPING OUT A ST. LOUIS STEEL PLANT.

Mr. Goltra has a steel plant at St. Louis and needs ore, so he proposes to bring ore from St. Paul down to his steel plant and incidentally carry coal up the river, aided by a railroad which he "controls"—page 48 of the hearings. His application, out of many received by the committee, is the only one approved. The only experiment he ever made on the river was last year when he used Government steamboats for towing, for which a small charge was made. The trip cost him \$11,384, over and above receipts, according to his own statement; but he now asks the Government to spend \$3,360,000 for new boats, and he is willing to experiment again for his private steel plant at Government expense.

Hundreds of men and hundreds of interests on the different inland waterways of the country would welcome such a gift from the Government. How and why does it go to Mr. Goltra? What chance has a profiteering concern on Hog Island to make profits compared with a steel plant that "controls" a railway, controls the only contract on the Mississippi, and makes the Government pay the bill? Mr. Goltra has frankly presented his case, but the contract can not be justified, excepting on the ground that his company wants it—and is able to get it.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. I will.

Mr. MADDEN. How much money was expended out of the Treasury, for the construction, of the funds that were turned over to Mr. Goltra?

Mr. FREAR. There is to be expended \$3,360,000. That is the authorization as stated by Mr. Goltra in the hearings.

Mr. MADDEN. I have not got it in my head, then. Three million three hundred and sixty thousand dollars is to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States for the construction of boats—

Mr. FREAR. At this time.

Mr. MADDEN. To be turned over to some private individual?

Mr. FREAR. This private plant; Mr. Goltra's; yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Is it not a fact that the Shipping Board has also recommended an appropriation of \$20,000,000 to buy barges to take coal from the Alabama mines on the Black Warrior River, which is to furnish power on the Muscle Shoals to New Orleans?

Mr. FREAR. Yes. I wanted to refer to that. I was going to talk about Muscle Shoals, but the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Longworth] who has just spoken has referred to Muscle Shoals. He presented it so strongly last night that all I ask is to add a brief word in regard to it later.

MILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR QUESTIONABLE CONTRACTS.

But these extravagances are modest compared with others. By a singular coincidence another \$21,000,000 has been recommended by Charles Montecon and A. J. Mason, special examiners for the Shipping Board, who urge the building of 100 steel barges and towboats by the Government for the Warrior River to accommodate parties interested in Alabama mines. The announcement was made by the press during the present month. Private capital refuses to put boats on the Warrior just as it refuses to put boats on the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio, so the Government is advised by its own agents to give \$21,000,000 for boats for the Warrior, in addition to \$12,000,000 for dams and locks already spent through the River and Harbor Committee on a deserted river. The same amount—\$21,000,000—was the estimate of Hog Island's carnival of money waste. The actual cost is nearly double. Underestimates are sure to follow in every case.

Why put \$33,000,000 in the Warrior River, way down in the wilds of Alabama, and not one dollar in the New York Barge Canal? Who pays the \$42,000,000 that is to be extracted from the Federal Treasury in 1918 for the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, and Warrior Rivers, and why?

THE MUSCLE SHOALS ALSO GOES OVER THE TOP.

Yesterday the Muscle Shoals lock and dam proposal, also in Alabama on the Tennessee River, was agreed upon out of some of the numerous funds Congress has provided for war activities. This item first appeared, recommended by Army engineers, in the river and harbor bill of 1915 for \$18,700,000, with an initial appropriation. When exposed, the project was stricken out of the bill by the House and never dared again to invite disaster through that committee recommendation.

Like a crafty shell game, it has been practically impossible to keep trace of this elusive power scheme, which has been stricken out of bill after bill, but, through the cooperation of Government agencies, finally bobs up again serenely. Its estimated cost now is from \$20,000,000 to \$100,000,000, a mere bagatelle: the time to build is several years, and after having been urged for navigation, nitrates, fertilizer, and always for power, we find its power of pull is finally supreme. By a coincidence it is also down in Alabama, where the powerful Muscle Shoals and profiteering warlords grow.

SMALL RIVER EXTRAVAGANCE.

It may be absurd to point out in detail comparatively small extravagances in this bill, like the \$500,000 item for a deserted \$6,000,000 section of the Norfolk-Beaufort Canal, or \$343,000 carried in this bill for locks and dams on the Tennessee in addition to \$1,087,743 balance on hand, according to the Engineer's reports, or to the \$500,000 item for locks and dams on the Allegheny, and other items unrelated to the war or present commerce found in the river and harbor bill before us.

Why question hundreds of thousands of dollars here or there throughout the bill when over \$60,000,000, largely of wasted money, not related to the prosecution of the war, is to be filched from the Public Treasury for five rivers? Why permit profiteering for every conceivable purpose, from shipbuilding contracts and shoddy-uniform contracts down to private fleets, private-land reclamation, and water-power schemes, all at Government expense?

Mr. Chairman, we are engaged in a great war. Practically every man, from the stripling in school to the battle-scarred veteran of the Civil War, is pulling to win the war. Only a few profiteering or political patriots or egoists are promiscuously

slandering the loyalty of their fellow countrymen, while practically every man, woman, and child is engaged in Red Cross or other war service, and all are rigidly observing rules of self-denial, down to wheatless, meatless, and heatless days.

PATRIOTISM VERSUS PROFITEERING.

War is a serious business, and the American people are putting every ounce of strength into the war. They are subscribing to the limit for liberty loans and war certificates. Mothers are sending their most precious treasures, their own sons, to France to help win the war. All are doing nobly and all are terribly in earnest. We have passed the time for lip loyalty or political patriotism, and sacrifice is the keynote of every community and every household.

* * * * *
SOME ACID TESTS ON EXTRAVAGANCE.

Ringling denunciation against extravagance comes from the lips of an able Democratic leader, Mr. Sisson, of Mississippi, who said on the House floor in debate:

I must apologize to you Republicans for having ever used the words "criminally extravagant" in criticizing the appropriations that you made, for if that expression "criminally extravagant" was proper to apply to you, my God the English language has never found an adjective strong enough to apply to Democratic extravagance.

Mr. Sisson was not questioning war appropriations, but waste.

Again, a heart-stirring denunciation against Treasury looting from the distinguished Democratic leader, Mr. Fitzgerald, of New York, rings in our ears:

Whenever I think of the horrible mess that I shall be called upon to present to the country on behalf of the Democratic Party, I am tempted to quit my place. If I placed my political fortunes above my sworn duty under the law, I would not attempt to carry out the promises of the Democratic platform, but I should place myself at the head of this band of Treasury looters upon every occasion.

Pursuant to that threat Mr. Fitzgerald resigned from the House, and on the day he bld good-by—December 14, 1917—Chairman KIRCHIN, leader of the Democratic majority, feelingly said of pork appetites:

I sometimes fear that too many of our colleagues set up as the true measure of service here the amount of money which they can filch out of the Treasury into their districts and States for creeks or rivers or public buildings.

Let the record of public extravagance, unrelated to war measures, rest with the testimony of prominent Democratic administration leaders of the House, either in opposition to unfair division of pork on the one hand or against "Treasury looting" on the other, according to statements submitted. And these three fearless Democratic leaders voted against the prewar "acid tests" offered by the President.

OVER \$100,000,000 STRICKEN FROM BILLS.

In opposition to the votes and protests of some of these same leaders, a vigorous onslaught has been made year after year, beginning with 1914 against pork-barrel bills, with the result that over \$100,000,000 has been saved to the taxpayers of the country through defeat or reductions in these vicious bills.

Mr. Chairman, the bill before us is little better in character than its predecessors, although it has \$20,000,000 to \$25,000,000 carved off from the usual hoghead dimensions. Only about \$8,000,000 of the present bill is for the five rivers described. The remaining \$54,000,000 is through the Shipping Board or other new agencies.

Not one of the \$60,000,000 to \$100,000,000 extravagances on the five rivers pointed out in the foregoing statement is for war purposes. At a time when selfish interests are concealing their

purposes by shouting their loyalty from the housetops, we need many Fitzgeralds, Sissons, and KIRCHINS to scourge the money changers from the temple, not alone from the Capitol but wherever unconscionable profiteering exists under the Government. Let the slogan be, "Billions to win the war, but not one penny for profiteering."

Against this striking record we find only nominal taxes placed on great wealth, although we have repeatedly promised to conscript wealth even as we have conscripted the youth and man power of the land to win the war.

WE MUST MORE THAN DOUBLE WAR-PROFITS TAXES.

Great Britain levies a tax on war profits of 80 per cent, while our own tax of 30 per cent is abnormally modest. I have confined my remarks to wasted millions in 1918 on five rivers, without discussing general extravagance, but I annex a brief statement of enormous profits made by a couple of score of business interests out of hundreds that could be named as an appropriate supplement to a Government gift for a specially favored steel plant owned by Mr. Goltra, Democratic committeeman.

With this statement I leave responsibility for present extravagances, which, according to Representative Sisson, can not fitly be described by the English language.

Public expenditures are being met by bond issues or taxation. It is estimated that American corporations in 1917 made in war profits in excess of their average profits during pre-war years approximately \$3,600,000,000. During a time when our boys are fighting at the front and every citizen at home is called upon to contribute liberally to the support of the war these unconscionable profits can not be defended and should be reached by rigorous taxation to help meet war expenditures. It would serve to curb extravagance and inflation that thrives on bond issues. I append a few specific cases of war profits in 1916 which convey their own argument:

War profits of a few concerns out of thousands reported.

	Average net income, pre- war period (1911-12-13).	War profits, 1916.	Net war profits, 1916.
COPPER.			
American Smelting & Refining Co.....	\$9,060,396	\$22,152,230	\$13,091,834
Anaconda Copper Mining Co.....	11,741,183	58,892,980	47,151,795
Butte & Sup. Mining Co.....	942,988	8,873,416	7,930,428
California & Arizona Copper Co.....	2,969,934	11,155,094	8,188,070
Greene Can. Copper Co.....	1,407,902	3,435,879	2,027,077
Miami Copper Co.....	1,206,092	7,739,784	6,463,182
Nevada Consolidated Copper Co.....	3,419,265	15,419,266	11,582,785
Phelps-Dodge Corporation.....	7,442,399	21,974,263	14,531,864
Ray Consolidated Co.....	1,634,665	11,716,428	10,082,063
Utah Copper Co.....	7,723,435	39,738,675	32,005,240
Total, 10 companies.....	47,633,772	200,700,763	153,055,288
LEATHER.			
American Hido & Leather Co.....	334,198	1,643,280	1,309,082
Central Leather Co.....	3,473,801	15,489,202	12,016,398
Total, 2 companies.....	3,808,002	17,132,482	13,325,480
MEAT.			
Armour & Co.....	4,745,642	20,100,000	15,352,368
Morris & Co.....	1,588,799	3,682,213	2,045,414
Swift & Co.....	7,879,167	20,465,000	12,585,833
Wilson & Co.....	1,344,926	4,915,872	3,568,947
Total, 4 companies.....	15,559,531	49,113,085	33,550,562

War profits of a few concerns out of thousands reported—Continued.

	Average net income, pre- war period (1911-12-13).	War profits, 1916.	Net war profits, 1913.
OIL.			
Standard Oil:			
California.....	\$9,877,984	\$17,605,304	\$7,727,340
Indiana.....	14,687,699	30,043,614	15,355,918
Kentucky.....	1,002,458	2,068,598	1,066,140
New York.....	16,212,985	36,638,495	20,425,510
Total Standard Oil (4).....	41,781,133	86,356,011	44,574,908
Texas Co. (The).....	3,886,667	13,898,862	10,042,185
Total, 5 companies.....	45,637,770	100,251,873	54,617,103
POWDER.			
Du Pont Powder Co.....	5,525,934	82,107,693	70,581,520
Hercules Powder Co.....	1,017,212	16,658,873	15,641,661
Atlas Powder Co.....	322,837	2,939,839	2,618,952
Total, 3 companies.....	6,866,013	101,706,405	88,842,132
PAPER.			
American Writing Paper.....	126,430	2,524,378	2,397,948
International Paper Co.....	1,105,913	4,420,727	3,514,811
Total, 2 companies.....	1,231,343	7,145,105	5,912,762
RUBBER.			
Ajax Rubber Co.....	348,196	1,268,311	929,115
Goodrich Rubber Co.....	3,040,745	9,417,299	6,406,654
United States Rubber Co.....	6,661,777	11,226,208	4,564,431
Total, 3 companies.....	10,050,718	21,911,818	11,891,100
STEEL.			
Albion-Chalmers Co.....	755,123	3,165,029	2,469,895
American Locomotive Co.....	3,872,807	19,769,429	6,896,022
Bethlehem Steel Corporation.....	3,075,108	43,594,568	40,518,860
Crucible Steel Co.....	3,629,467	13,223,656	9,594,189
Lackawanna Steel Co.....	1,282,500	12,218,234	10,935,731
Republic Iron & Steel Co.....	2,265,691	11,789,162	12,524,468
United States Steel Corporation.....	63,585,777	271,531,730	207,045,953
Total, 7 companies.....	78,466,478	369,290,799	290,824,721
SUGAR.			
American Beet Sugar Co.....	1,246,659	6,123,677	1,880,027
American Sugar Refining Co.....	5,751,688	8,319,882	2,508,191
Cuban American Sugar Co.....	499,988	8,235,112	7,825,121
Total, 3 companies.....	7,498,335	22,681,671	15,213,339
WOOL.			
American Woolen Co.....	1,751,792	5,681,671	4,100,026
Total, 40 companies.....	218,418,718	895,830,819	677,298,729

¹ Col. Goltra's company and associated interests are not included in the above, but will be found among the many thousands of corporations that necessarily are omitted from the list.

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Z Frear, James Archibald, 1861-1939.

v.113 Acid tests of loyalty or partisanship, which ?
Wisconsin proportionately more volunteers, more
men... now in France than any other state...
speech of Hon. James A. Frear... in the House of
representatives... April 5, 1918. [Washington,
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